

PEACE NEWS

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FOURPENCE

REARMAMENT RUINING — and Germans don't want it

NIEMOLLER TO MEET
PACIFISTS IN PARIS

AN important conference on the German problem is to be held in Paris from June 13 to 15. The Conference, which is being organised by a committee with headquarters at 27 Rue Jacob, Paris 6, aims at "the rejection of militarism," and the finding of a solution in peace and international co-operation.

British sponsors include such well-known pacifists as the Rev. C. E. Raven, Emrys Hughes, MP, Vera Brittain, Alex Comfort, Rev. Claud M. Colman, and Corder Catchpole, also a number of non-pacifists, including Sidney Silverman, MP, and Basil Davidson.

Among the West German sponsors are Pastor Martin Niemoller and Dr. Sigmund Schultze (of the German Fellowship of Reconciliation). Eastern Germany is represented by Stephan Hermlin, and the conference invitations also bear the names of prominent sponsors in Austria, France, Italy and Switzerland.

The Committee point out that plans are being made for the creation of a West German army by July 3, 1952, the date on which the American Congress adjourns for the Presidential elections, and that such a step is contrary to international agreements, and also contrary to the wishes of the great majority of the German people.

"The time has come," they say, "for the peoples of Europe to save the prospects of peace by preventing, by their actions, the rearmament of Germany, and by demanding that negotiations take place and be completed between the Governments concerned."

OPINION POLL SHOWS 94% AGAINST ARMS

A recent issue of "Das Andere Deutschland," the German pacifist fortnightly, reveals the results of an unofficial plebiscite which was carried out last year to determine the feelings of the German people with regard to the rearmament proposals.

The plebiscite was banned by the Government in Bonn, ostensibly on the ground that it was endangering public security and order, but it was carried through nevertheless. At a meeting held in the Ruhr on March 16 it was announced that 9,119,667 people in the Federal Republic, the Saar and West Berlin had replied "Yes" to the question, "Are you opposed to rearmament and in favour of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in 1951?"

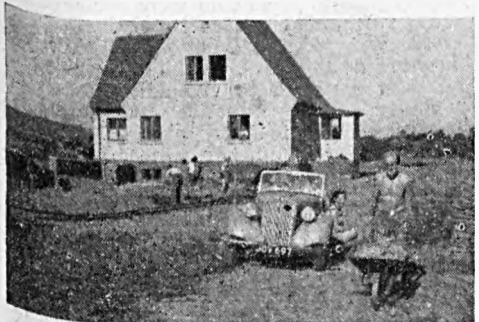
This figure represented 94.41 per cent of the total number of people who replied.

In the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), where the authorities did not interfere with the plebiscite, 95.84 per cent of the people questioned declared themselves to be opposed to rearmament.

"Das Andere Deutschland" states that, in pursuance of the Bonn Government's ban, 7,331 people who were helping to organise the plebiscite were arrested, and over a thousand prosecutions were carried out.

The organisers challenged the right of the Government to ban the plebiscite, and on March 20 the German Constitutional Court announced that it was unable to uphold the legality of the ban. It remains to be seen whether any recompense will be made to those who were illegally prosecuted, or suffered in other ways from the Government's action.

Peaceworkers train where soldiers drilled



Volunteers at the Friendship House, a German peace venture described on page four

BRITISH INDUSTRY

Arms work holds up housing

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

"Well, that's that," said Fitter McFarlane of King Edmund Street, Alexandria, to his foreman, George Rial, yesterday, as he put the final bolt in place on the first pair of Vampire jet wings to leave Blackburn aircraft works, Dumbarton. He then stood back and watched his handiwork being hoisted on to a waiting lorry for its journey to England.

THAT is the first paragraph of an account in the Scotsman of how the Blackburn aircraft works is again switching over to rearmament orders.

During the last war Blackburn's employed 4,000 men and women on manufacturing aircraft and turned out 250 Sunderland flying-boats.

When the war was over there was a slump in the demand for aircraft and the factory was switched over to the manufacture of aluminium pre-fab houses.

Everybody knows that the West of Scotland has a serious housing problem and these pre-fabs did something, if not to solve it, at least to provide housing accommodation for the overcrowded, the slum dwellers and the homeless.

18,000 sinks

The Blackburn aluminium house was a good house, as pre-fabs go, and between 1945 and 1949 the sight of a huge lorry loaded with sections of aluminium houses was a frequent one on the roads of Scotland.

In those four years Blackburn's workers turned out 18,000 kitchen and bath-room sinks.

During 1950 Blackburn switched again to permanent brick-built houses and during that year produced 5,000; equivalent to one house for every 29 minutes.

Last year only 1,000 houses were turned out. That is a big decrease.

For rearmament orders have super priority and now the Government is more concerned about wings for Vampires.

PACIFISTS WIN EXETER DEBATE

From R. Allen Jackson

"THE universal church should withdraw its members from military service," said the Rev. Douglas Wollen, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, at a debate on World Government, at the Friends' Meeting House at Exeter on May 21.

"How can we believe in a moral universe when the 'good side' is prepared to use all the weapons of the 'bad side'?" he asked. "If we disarmed completely, we might be over-run, but as the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church, so our blood may be the seed of a World Government."

The subject of the debate, which was organised by the Peace Pledge Union, was "That lovers of peace should put their emphasis on World Government rather than on Pacifism." Proposer was Mr. W. Simey, JP, of the Crusade for World Government, who argued that "You can draw the best out of most people, but you must use force with the others."

Dealing with "roughs"

There would always be a small hard kernel of ambitious, selfish people, he said, and peace could only be held secure against these "roughs" by a World Government backed by force.

Mr. W. Catling, a member of the United Nations Association, seconding the motion, said that no government was possible without the use of force, but that under World Government, national governments would have no control over the forces available.

The Rev. Douglas Wollen spoke in opposition to the motion, and was seconded by Mr. Norman Stevens, a Quaker and member of the Peace Pledge Union, who was Labour candidate for Honiton (Devon) at the last election.

He said that we should not secure world government or any worth-while state by means of war or the threat of violence.

Quoting Mr. Eden's comment with regard to the Napalm bomb, "It is only by stopping the fighting that we shall stop this horror," Mr. Stevens said that the acceptance of a World Government force meant acceptance of the Napalm bomb, and research into the H-bomb and bacteriological warfare.

"There is no more righteous war than there is righteous rape or righteous theft," he declared.

The motion was defeated by 37 to 24.

Human rights counted out

THE debate on the second reading of Fenner Brockway's Human Rights Bill (see "Behind the News" in PN of April 11) was counted out in the Commons on Friday last.

A Conservative member, Mr. Charles Doughty, called for a count, and only 34 members were present within the time-limit, instead of 40.

A full report of the debate will appear next week.

THE NAPALM BOMB

Church of Scotland's protest

To the many protests from all parts of the country against the use of the napalm bomb the Church of Scotland has added its voice.

At the General Assembly at Edinburgh on May 26 the Rev. Professor J. Pitt Watson of Glasgow, moved a resolution which was passed, renewing their support of the United Nations in its resistance to aggression in Korea, but expressing grave concern "lest the just end of this military action should be compromised by the unilateral and intensified use in war of such weapons as the napalm bomb."

An amendment condemning the use of the bomb and urging that the Christian Church should sponsor a peace campaign was, however, defeated.

WHEN CONSCRIPTS MUST REGISTER

The next registration for National Service takes place on June 7, when young men born between July 1 and Sept. 30, 1934, are required to register. Any intending conscientious objector is invited to write for information on the procedure to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh-street, London, W.C.1.

"Don't build aerodromes" BELGIAN DIRECTOR RESIGNS — APPEALS TO WORKERS

BARON ANTOINE ALLARD, writer, painter, and one of the first members of the Belgian section of Federal Union, has revealed how he recently resigned from the Board of Directors of a Brussels company because they were proposing to submit a tender for the construction of 400 new aerodromes in Belgium, France and Spain.

In a news release which he has issued to the international press, Baron Allard describes how, at a board meeting of the company in February, one of the Directors announced the "good news" that the American authorities had invited them to tender.

The work, he said, was urgent, and they would be paid very well, either in dollars or Swiss francs. The constructional machinery was to be supplied to the company on loan, and would become its property when it had only been used for a comparatively short time.

In short, said the Director, it was very good business.

Baron Allard then said that he could not be a party to such a contract, since, as he saw it, it was war preparation. The other directors smiled and shrugged their shoulders, and Baron Allard went on:

"Gentlemen, as most of you know my feelings about war and all war preparations, you will understand that it is impossible for me to participate in work which is directly contrary to all that I am striving for. I must therefore ask you to accept my resignation."

The Managing Director thanked the Baron for speaking so frankly, and then astonished the Board by telling them that the Americans had already asked him for the names of all the directors, and the political ideas of each.

"One noticed surprise mingled with indignation," says Baron Allard, "but the Directors had to take into account the risk of losing such a lucrative contract."

Baron Allard then pointed out that the work which they were proposing to take on was exactly the same as was done by Krupps, in Germany, between the two wars, and caused some members of the firm to be prosecuted by the War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg.

"I do not want our company to be prosecuted in the same way, and to have to submit to the same fate," he said.

The Baron has also appealed to all workers, who may be asked to undertake the work of air-field construction, to refuse to do it; and to farmers and land-owners to refuse to give up their land for such a purpose.

"Out of respect for those who died in the war, and in the concentration camps, I ask you, and anyone else whom my words may reach, to act like responsible people. Do not collaborate with those who pretend that war is inevitable. It is the greatest crime against humanity. Do not help them to prepare it," he writes.



BARON ALLARD

Baron Allard, who is 45, and 6ft. 4in. tall, is the son of a banker. He left the University of Louvain to become a portrait painter. After studying painting in Munich, Venice and Madrid, he travelled all over the world, including the United States, which he last visited in 1947.

During the war he served as an ambulance driver, first with the French forces, then with the Belgian Colonial Army, and finally with the South African Army in Italy.

Shortly after the end of the war, he joined Union Fédérale (the Belgian section of the World Movement for World Federal Government), of which he became the General Secretary. He resigned from this position in 1948, however, so that he could work with greater freedom, and founded a movement of his own, which he called "Stop War," with offices at 16 Grand' Place, Brussels.

The Baron has now given up painting, in order to devote his whole energies to the work of preventing a third world war.

One of his activities has been the organisation of international peace camps at Heyst-sur-Mer, a small coastal town in Belgium, which was completely inundated by the Germans in their retreat. The camp is known as Regenboog (Rainbow), and its flag is almost identical with the rainbow flag of World Government.

His wife is an Italian, whose father was killed in a concentration camp, and they have one daughter.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

30th May 1952

WAR'S WORST VICTIMS

WE have not heard for some years what has been the fate of the poor man who accepted the duty of pressing the button that released the atom bomb on the victims of Hiroshima.

The last we have read of him was a note in a Catholic newspaper recording that he had sought refuge in retreat in a monastery because he had "lost his inner peace."

We take this to be a gentle way of describing the tortured condition of a man who feels that he has destroyed his own soul through the inhuman enormity for which he has been responsible.

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Even we pacifists do not give enough thought to this aspect of war.

We know that the really dreadful thing about conscription is not that it brings compulsion upon men to make them face the risk of meeting death, it is that it seeks to compel them to be ready to kill; but when we get news of some of the more atrocious cruelties that are contrived by the men who direct military operations we are generally so shocked at the destruction, mutilation and misery inflicted on those who have suffered under a particular act, that we seldom give thought to the poor devil who has allowed himself to be the instrument of its carrying out.

We have doubtless only learned of a small proportion of the horrible things that have been done by the use of the napalm bombs but we do well to ask ourselves what has happened since to the poor creatures who launched them?

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Take the case of the village that was destroyed by napalm, where fifty children playing in an orphanage were among those who suffered a ghastly death.

What, we may ask, has since happened to the man who did this?

Possibly fortune has favoured him and he himself has met his death. If he has lived on, however, this may be said with certainty: unless before he launched that bomb he was a brute, something less than human, he is now a broken man, as surely one of the victims of the war as were the children and their neighbours to whom he brought that foul kind of death; as surely as is the poor soul who has "lost his inner peace," and as were the victims who died or suffered something worse than death under the bomb that was dropped at Hiroshima.

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It is important that we should remember that the greatest horror that arises from the things that are accepted as part of modern warfare is not the destruction and suffering that is inflicted on the intended victims. It is the destruction and moral deterioration we inflict on ourselves.

None of the members of the various war cabinets—our own as well as that of America—who authorised what was done at Hiroshima have retired from the world through having lost their inner peace; that fate seems to have been limited to the pitiful instrument of their decision. Indeed, most of them have been able to continue in activity, conducting the affairs of nations, and organising the building up of the means of waging a new war.

Nevertheless, they have suffered as a consequence of the terrible thing they have endorsed. They are coarser-fibred beings, more ready to accept the increasing foulness of war than they were before; and so unfortunately are all the rest of us.

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The atom bombs were dropped at Hiroshima and Nagasaki without any consultation of the common people. They have their share of responsibility for what was done, however; and the first shock of horror that most people felt has not prevented the preparation for doing the same thing on a larger scale with more powerful and more destructive bombs.

We have largely assimilated the horror and increased our capacity for accepting it.

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This is the greatest horror in the threat of a new war: the world will be damned, not so much through the destruction that it will have to suffer, but through the things it will be ready to do.

Death warrant

BRITAIN and America are prepared to negotiate over a prolonged period when it suits their purpose.

This is evidenced by the fact that talks about the Contractual Agreement with Germany began on May 10, 1951, and were only concluded after a critical week-end on May 25, 1952.

We could wish that there was the same persistence and determination to bring matters to a successful conclusion where Russia is concerned, though in the case of Germany it has been more a question of the determination of America, backed by Britain, to drive bargaining to the end they had in view.

Thus the signing of the Agreement in Bonn on Monday may well prove the death warrant to all hopes of the reunification of Germany by agreement with Russia, which is the only way it can be achieved short of a civil war.

Though it means the technical end of occupation, the Agreement also means the end of the relations based upon the Potsdam Agreement. It does not mean peace for Germany, for Berlin is excluded as well as Eastern Germany, and Western Germany is deeply split over the issue.

What it does mean is the turning of Western Germany into an armed ally of the Western Powers, and this purpose has been pursued not so much under the pressure of the cold war as under the fear of what America would do if she was thwarted.

Under the pretence of giving freedom to Germany, America has asserted her domination over Western Europe, though France fluttered against this by trying to make the acceptance of the Contractual Agreement dependent on no American interference in Tunisia.

Occupation forces stay

Germany is not to be free of foreign troops, which will still be established on her soil and for which she will continue to pay in cash, as well as in other ways. That they will be regarded as part of a European Army to which Germany will also contribute contingents does not alter the fact. Indeed one of the last-minute objections raised by France was the difference in status between her troops and those of Britain and America, since French troops will be part of the European Army, but since neither Britain nor America are involved in contributing man-power their troops will still be occupation forces.

If Mr. Churchill can warn us that the presence of American air bases here places us in jeopardy, how much more is the safety of Western Germany menaced by the presence of NATO forces on the borders of Eastern Germany?

The troops which have been stationed in Germany to maintain order now become part of an army which is an open rival to Soviet forces and from which they are separated by nothing more substantial than the 38th Parallel which created the impossible division in Korea. Indeed it was the panic caused by the outbreak of the Korean war which led to the decision to rearm Western Germany and to so fateful a change of policy, for there has been a reversal of policy and once more the politicians have given way to the military experts.

The policy of Potsdam

The Occupation Statute was the outcome of the decision of the four Allied Powers in 1945 that as there was no central government capable of exercising control in Germany, they would assume all the powers of a German government. But a united German government remained the ultimate objective and the implication is that those powers would be assumed until it was a fact.

It is significant that the purpose of the negotiations for a revision of the Statute so far as West Germany was concerned, begun over a year ago, was defined as "the inclusion of a democratic Germany on the basis of equality in a continental European community" and the apprehension about this intention is not lessened by the report that the claim that a unified Germany would be bound by the obligations accepted by the Bonn Government has not been modified, nor by the assertion that the French and West German representatives in European Defence Community discussions have agreed that any future central government of a united Germany would be regarded as the successor of the Bonn Government and as such a partner in EDC.

Although there has been talk of a possible "revision" of the EDC Treaty there have been broad hints that no power once associated with EDC would be allowed to withdraw.

Biro or Bismarck

At the very last minute the French obtained more specific assurances from Britain and America as to their action against Germany should she at any time decide to cut loose from EDC on the ground that such action would constitute a threat to peace.

The linking up of the Contractual Agreement with the EDC Treaty is further evidence of the intention of the Western Powers to weld Germany into their system of defence.

Peace News has always insisted that this attempt to bind in advance any central government of Germany virtually makes the unity of Germany impossible.

The plans of the West are revealed for what they are—to bolster up their own defence without regard to the effect this

BEHIND THE NEWS

will have on the future of Germany.

There is more than a touch of humour in the decision of the Western Ministers to use their own pens for signing the Agreement rather than the writing set which belonged to Bismarck. Was not Bismarck the architect of German unity?

Reprieve?

Dr. Adenauer has apparently not succeeded in the attempt to secure that some of the agreements should come into force before ratification.

What is beyond doubt is that they cannot have permanent validity until they are ratified by all the governments concerned. Moreover the West German Constitutional Court has yet to rule whether conscription is legal under the Constitution.

Here lies what is perhaps the last chance of securing German unity and peace in Europe.

We must hope that the opposition which has manifested itself in the French Cabinet will not be hoodwinked by nominal concessions, and that it will press its fundamental opposition to the point of refusing to ratify

We did not say it...

Man has survived hitherto because his ignorance and incompetence have made his folly ineffective. Now that science has shown us how to make folly effective we must abandon folly or perish. Perhaps my grandson will see the issue.

—Bertrand Russell, Sunday Observer, May 18, 1952.

Servicemen throughout the ages have not altered one jot. They are still the most destructive people on earth.

—Lieut.-Gen. Sir Brian Horrocks, Sunday Times, May 25, referring to crockery losses in Service canteens.

At a local police court this week a probation officer told the magistrates that the prisoner wanted to join the Army, adding: "He is not very intelligent and leads a simple life."

—Middlesex Chronicle, Feb. 1, 1952.

either the Contractual Agreement or the EDC Treaty. Nor must the British Parliament allow itself to be stamped into ratification.

If ever there was a clear case for independent action it is here and now. No matter what the immediate effect on Anglo-American relations, in the long run Britain cannot afford to jeopardise her own existence and the peace of the world for the sake of acquiescing in American domination.

Two other factors are also important. The Agreement does not have the approval of the people of West Germany as a whole. The Social Democrats have maintained their opposition to the point of taking no part in ceremonies of signing.

Strong opposition has been expressed all over Germany and not least by the Trades Unions, and this is not to be discounted by labelling it Communist. One of the most significant signs was the recent mass demonstration in Bonn, organised by the Women's Peace League, at which Frau Wessel advocated passive resistance to the Agreement.

Soviet reactions

The other factor is the unknown reaction of the Soviet Government. Russia cannot be expected to regard the Agreement with anything but the deepest suspicion, and if she is as aggressive in her designs as the West asserts she cannot be expected to sit quietly by while they get away with the spoil.

The reorganisation of the East Berlin authority and the closing of cross-roads (though this does not affect the one road into Berlin which the Western Powers are entitled to use) are indications that Russia is not prepared to accept the *fait accompli*.

But there are no indications of more serious reactions at the moment, and it may be that Russia is prepared to wait, say until August, before showing her hand. If so it will be a further indication of her desire for a meeting of the Four Powers.

Certainly she has not allowed the signing of the Agreement to close the door, for in her reply to the most recent Western Note, though she has emphasised the danger to peace of the inclusion of Western Germany in NATO and suggested that the West is trying to delay a meeting by imposing fresh preliminaries, she again presses for an immediate meeting.

Perhaps now that the West has forced through the Contractual Agreement they will consider that they are in a position in which they can afford to confer, but if they plan to negotiate from strength and allow decisions taken at Bonn automatically to bind a future German government the conference is doomed to failure.

The Russian reply at least recognises that an all-German Government must be free to

make its own decisions unprejudiced by any agreement which either part of Germany may have made with any other government. The hope of reprieve for Europe lies in the postponement of any ratification of the Agreement or the EDC Treaty until the Four Powers have met in the serious determination to let nothing stand in the way of their reaching agreement about the unity of Germany.

Failure in Tunisia

IT would appear that M. de Hauteclouque has failed in the use of his heavy-fisted methods in Tunisia.

There has been a revival of violent demonstrations against French rule, and it has been impossible to construct any kind of plausible joint commission to pilot through the French plans for reform.

Not only this, but the Bey himself has been willing to manifest some independence vis-a-vis the Resident-General.

When M. de Hauteclouque decided that a renewal of martial law was necessary the Bey refused to sign the necessary decree. M. de Hauteclouque had therefore to abandon the constitutional fiction the French try to maintain and the Resident-General's emergency measures had to be applied without the endorsement of the Bey.

Since then a member of the French Government has been in Tunisia trying to pull things together, and without being recalled M. de Hauteclouque seems to have been quietly set aside. There have been evidences also of some American intervention.

No finality

Time is with the Tunisians in their struggle.

The Americans are having to keep a curb on their opinions regarding Franco-Tunisian relationships. They have not only to get the French signature to the treaty with Western Germany. That is only the first phase; afterwards comes the ratification, and this could easily be refused by the French if the USA showed a disposition to vote for a hearing for the Tunisian case before the United Nations. It is not, of course, merely the USA vote that is involved (the USA representative has abstained from voting), but the votes of other nations deferring to US wishes, who, without necessarily having reached a judgment on the Tunisian case, see no reason why it should not be stated.

However long the question of the ratification of the German Treaty may be held over, the issue will have sooner or later to be settled one way or another, and even if the Bey, M. Baccouche and a few people round them have come to an agreement with the French, this will provide no reason at all why a more broadly based vehicle of Tunisian opinion should not raise the issue anew when the French Government has no longer this trump card to play.

The Times and Edward VIII

LORD BEAVERBROOK'S broadcast on Sunday evening displayed with startling clarity the power of the Press and the ruthlessness with which it is used.

Reviewing the latest volume of "The History of The Times," he drew attention to the decisive part played by that paper in the abdication of Edward VIII, details of which are hidden away in an appendix of the book.

He described Geoffrey Dawson, editor at that time, as the most important factor, with the sole exception of the Prime Minister himself, in compelling the King to abdicate. Dawson saw, and approved, the letter which launched the crisis; he sat by and encouraged Prime Minister Baldwin (whose confidant he seems to have been) when the latter's nerve began to fail; and he conducted a vigorous and successful campaign which changed public opinion.

There might have been little wrong in all this, although such power is dangerous, but, said Lord Beaverbrook, the vigour seemed more like venom, and the success was achieved by methods that many would condemn.

He deliberately suppressed all letters which were in favour of the King, although at the outset they were overwhelmingly in the majority, and he published three "disreputable assertions" in his leading articles. When a newspaper that has the reputation for probity that is enjoyed by The Times is guilty of deliberate suppression and of wounding and malicious innuendo, where can one rely on finding the truth?

Not to be sneezed at

WE read so many fantastic accounts of the marvels that men can achieve for the destruction of their fellows—there is even an account of an artificial moon, garbled by people who will be able to observe what goes on behind the "iron curtain"—that it is possible to have some sympathy with those who were hoodwinked by the "Gesundheit mine" story.

This was described by a number of American newspapers. A mine, it was said, had been designed by the Allies to make proximity mines effective only against enemy vessels. Its heart was said to be a small projectile launcher which, aimed by the magnetic attraction of a passing ship, would throw on board a canister loaded with pepper. "A sensitive microphone pick-up on the mine did the rest. If a member of the ship's crew said *Gesundheit*, the mine would explode; if he said 'God bless you,' the mine would remain unarmed."

The story, it appears, had been picked up out of "Research Review," where it had been included as a piece of light relief.

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BROADMOOR —OR WHAT?

By FRANK DAWTRY

THE escape of John Thomas Straffen from Broadmoor Institution and the subsequent alleged murder of a child have led to a local outcry, echoed throughout the country, for more stringent care and drastic punishment in certain cases of so-called criminal lunacy.

The term itself is a contradiction, as a person not responsible for his actions, not knowing what he was doing or not knowing that what he was doing was wrong, cannot be a criminal.

Crime implies responsibility and assumes knowledge of the law and of right and wrong.

The reaction therefore to the recent incidents should be no different from the reaction to anything done by a patient from any other lunatic asylum or mental institution—or by a person whose conduct is the first public revelation that he ought to be in an asylum or mental institution.

But it will take a long time to educate the public in this respect, and the recent alarm about the proposal to open another special institution in Surrey shows this.

The proposal is to open a centre for the treatment of psychopathic and psychiatric cases from prison. These are not insane, they are not Broadmoor patients, but they need care, observation and treatment, and they cannot be helped in the ordinary atmosphere of a prison.

I say nothing in defence of the proposal to place this new institution within the Green Belt because the Green Belt helps to keep the rest of us saner—but the institution has been planned for years and a home for it must be found and not described, as it was recently in the Lords, as "another Broadmoor."

The best protection

The public called for revenge when Straffen committed the murders for which he was brought to trial but found unfit to plead ("like an imbecile child," said the Judge) and he had to be protected from the mob.

Now at his every appearance crowds gather (mainly women, alas) and there are boos and demonstrations.

"Our children must be protected" . . . of course they must. The best protection is the early discovery and removal from the community for as long as necessary of those who are not mentally capable of living in it.

The worst remedy would be to resort to violence. If Straffen had been executed—the risk now revealed would not have remained—but by no stretch of the law could he have been executed even were that the right thing to do.

If we start executing the insane and certifiable we shall place in the hands of authority a wide and dangerous power—to remove those whose removal can be justified on mental grounds. Wait until we get in . . . we can each find "a little list."

"You've got to like 'em"

Nor is the remedy simply in tighter control and violent restraint within the mental institutions. Gerald Heard, in some of his earlier writings, told us how even the maddest and most violent lunatic could still be handled without violence or physical restraint. He gave a lesson in the value of the persistently pacific method not only with reasoning enemies but with those beyond reason.

He also provided an answer to the defeated tribunal's last ditch question, "What would you do if a raving lunatic attacked your sister" (your bother is never in danger of attack, by the way)—and the answer is always the same so long as it is not banded about in a way which sounds silly—"persistent goodwill—and you have

FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY

EVERY month without fail there arrives at the office a postal order for 2s.—as a contribution to the work of the Peace Pledge Union for peace. It comes from two brothers who in this way give 21s. a year.

We have over 15,000 names on our active files and if every active PPU signatory would put by 3d a week and send us 1s a month, we should be free from the anxiety about our minimum requirements.

It is easy as that, for there must be few who could not afford this if they placed any value on the work of the PPU and realised the urgency.

And the need is urgent, desperately urgent. At the moment we have an uncomfortable overdraft, without which we could not have carried on any activities or paid our staff for the past few weeks. We cannot live on credit, but we live in hope, and—because we believe that you have faith in the PPU—know that we can rely on your charity; on the love of peace which will not fail us.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000
Total received to date: £137
Total received since May 16: £11

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

World Trade and Peace

ANOTHER DOLLAR CRISIS APPROACHING

By Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ).

COMMERCIAL relations and exchange of goods between countries are subject to continual changes. Trade usually benefits all partners, unless a country tries to extort unjustified gains or imposes an economic blockade upon others.

A country possessing large resources and efficient industries exercises a decisive influence regarding conditions of trade with other countries and directs, or prevents, development of "backward" and Colonial areas.

The post-war history of world trade can be explained—if a simple, basic principle is desired—by the predominance of the dollar area over others. Most countries were in desperate need of food, industrial raw materials and productive equipment to rebuild their shattered economies.

"Lend-Lease" was stopped on Aug. 21, 1945. The "Washington Loan" (\$3,750m.) to Britain—tied to onerous conditions such as sterling convertibility, release of balances, free imports from US—was exhausted during the "convertibility crisis" in August 1947. Consequently, Britain, like other European countries, had no dollars to pay for essential imports.

In order to prevent the bankruptcy of Western Europe, the Marshall Plan was operated between 1948-51. This year the functions of the "Economic Co-operation Administration" (ECA) were taken over by the "Mutual Security Agency" under the direction of the Pentagon (US Military Headquarters) in Washington. Economic assistance is insignificant now, because the delivery of arms takes its place.

Owing to world rearmament and the dollar shortage we observe a decline in living standards and a contraction of world trade. Britain's gold and dollar reserves have fallen below the safety level and another serious "dollar crisis" is approaching.

COMPETITIVE SYSTEMS AND POLICIES

The Marshall Plan (OEEC) and the arms drive have increased Western Europe's dependence upon US economy. America expects, therefore, that OEEC countries will "integrate" their trade and adjust their policies according to Washington's concepts.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between British and American concepts of external trade. The US desires non-discriminatory, "multilateral" trading and the removal of trade controls; whereas Britain protects the Sterling Area ("imperial preference") and favours bulk buying and "bilateral" payments agreements.

America's insistence on the "free flow of trade" can be explained by her strong position as a "monopolistic buyer" who is interested in buying certain limited quantities at cheapest prices from competing producers. If suppliers are left with surplus stocks the US can take advantage of falling commodity prices.

Britain, on the other hand, is impelled by scantier dollar reserves to conclude barter agreements ("bilateralism") with trading partners and to avoid trade deficits payable in gold.

The existence of the Sterling Area gives Britain not only advantages of "division of labour" regarding industrial and agricultural production and exchange of Commonwealth goods, but also ensures a better bargaining position in face of American tariff policy and West-European competition.

The "liberalisation" of trade by OEEC countries had to be reversed, because their economic systems are mostly competitive, not complementary. Mr. Butler's import cuts (£500m.) led to retaliation, the US tariff policy reduces the chances of "earning more dollars" by OEEC countries.

As trade relations have become subordinate to military considerations, America's

economic predominance prevents an expansion of trade between Western and Eastern Europe. The West will have to ask for dollar grants to cover trade deficits and that provides the US with an opportunity to force through its trade concepts.

The integration of Britain's trade into the US economy inevitably leads to the disintegration of the Sterling Area.

ECONOMIC BLOCKS AND BLOCKADE

The division of the world into competing economic blocks of industrialised countries on the one hand and raw material producers and "backward" areas (with starving population) on the other has resulted in a fundamental disequilibrium of world trade.

Trade could expand considerably if income levels in poverty-areas were doubled and trebled, so that millions of potential buyers were able to purchase essentials of life (textiles, household goods, etc.).

Unfortunately, the present arms drive, imposed by America, frustrates all hopes of raising living standards or initiating large-scale development in backward areas.

Moreover, the economic blockade against the USSR, demanded by the US, weakens the economic position of Western Europe and entails a contraction of trade. Sir Hartley Shawcross stated in the Board of Trade Journal (Aug. 18, 1951):

"Trade between East and Western Europe had always been important. . . . To deprive each part of Europe of the other would not put an end to Communism; it might merely depress the economic welfare of both parts."

The US is endeavouring to cut off any trade between the "Rouble area" and the "Western world," including Japan. Now Japan is prevented from trading with China and sends half of her exports to the Sterling area and one-quarter to the Dollar area.

The policy of blockade was unsuccessful in the past and is irrelevant now, as the "Rouble area" has become "self-sufficient" and independent of US trade policy.

Figures relating to industrial production and world trade are shown below.

AMERICAN INSTABILITY

The present "high level employment" in the US is based on armament contracts, which cannot continue indefinitely. Should incomes decline, there will be a rapid shrinkage of consumers' demand. Uncontrolled adjustments in the American economy by the free play of supply and demand will shake the whole productive system. The alternative will be slump or war, engulfing all those countries dependent on the Dollar area.

Mr. Averill Harriman, "Mutual Security" Director, said (Financial Times, May 20):

"In 1949, when business activity in the US dropped by 6%, some countries lost 70% of their American trade. How can these countries survive if we care so little about them?"

Mr. Gaitskill, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer and Governor of the World Bank, suggested in Sunday Pictorial (May 25) a "new economic conference" on dollar shortage and development of backward areas. It is surprising that the former Chancellor regards himself as qualified to call a conference in America whereas last year (Cmd. 8195) he urged that Britain should rearm as fast as we can, while maintaining a strong and healthy economy.

An economic conference in the US is doomed to failure, because, Mr. Gaitskill's World Bank colleagues will never agree to the displacement of "free enterprise" and "private investment" by the planned development aimed at by the Labour Party.

ARMS OR DEVELOPMENT?

The UN "Statistical Papers," E/3, pp 2, 19 states:

"North America, with less than 10 per cent. of the world's population, accounts for nearly 45 per cent. of the world's income. Asia, having over half the world's population, produces only one-tenth of the world's national income. Yearly average income of Africans per head in British Colonies were: Northern Rhodesia (1946) five pounds, Kenya (1949) six pounds.

These official figures regarding Colonies were never disclosed in Government White Papers, Fabian Society publications or statistical reports of British newspapers. No pacifist organisation has undertaken an enquiry into social conditions (health, wages, etc.) in Colonies yet.

Colonial development by Britain, instead of rearmament, would raise output and wage-levels of millions of natives (total 60 millions) who would be able to buy more British goods, thus providing additional employment.

In the constituencies members of the Labour Party are discussing important issues of future domestic and international policies.

The present lop-sided economy, declining living standards and unbalanced trade position necessitate the working out of a new constructive programme. The arms drive and "Gaitskillism" must be dropped if living standards are to be raised and world peace made "our first duty."

THE WORLD'S FOOD

Feeding a Hungry World by Denis R. Stubbs. 20pp and cover. Friends Peace Committee, 6d.

There has been during recent years, a slowly awakening consciousness in the minds of ordinary folk, that hunger and malnutrition are the world-wide enemies of mankind; that, bluntly, two-thirds of the people of the world do not get enough to eat.

This pamphlet outlines the position, and the way in which it has been aggravated by two world wars and the vast economic and political changes which have taken place during the last three or four decades. It does not suggest, as unimaginative or cynical politicians do with increasing frequency, that the solution lies in the universal distribution of contraceptives, but pins its faith in international co-operation.

The author believes that it is a great challenge to the present generation to know that, by using modern knowledge and technique in the proper manner, starvation and malnutrition could almost certainly be conquered. He might, however, have given more emphasis to his comment that all the efforts being made are, at present, warped by the overlying pressures of wars and fears of wars.

T. R. D.

RELATION BETWEEN INCOME, OUTPUT AND TRADE

	Pop (last fig) in millions	Nat. Income (approx) £ millions	Avg per head £	Share in World Trade %	Share in World Industrial Output %
1. \$-area: U.S. ...	154.4	95,000	613	17	44
Canada ...	14	3,000	214	4	1
2. £-area: U.K. ...	50.6	11,500	226	12	10
Dominions ... (exc. Can.)	464	13,500	—	7	3
3. Rouble-area: USSR ...	206	28,500	138	2	4
Eastern Europe ...	102	10,000	—	4	3
China ...	480	5,300	11	1	—
4. Western Europe ...	244	32,200	—	26	25
5. Rest of the World: "Have-nots," Non-indust. countries and colonies (see note below)	665	21,000	—	27	10
Total ...	2,380	220,000	—	100%	100

SOURCES—UN Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, April, 1952; UN National Income in Under-developed Countries, 1951 (Series E/3) and UN National Income E/1; UN Direction of Int. Trade, April, 1952 (Series T/12); ECE, Geneva, Econ. Survey of Europe, 1951.

NOTE—Group 5 comprises countries with various types of economies, to shorten the list: "Have-nots" (e.g., Japan), "Under-developed countries," such as Indonesia and the South American Republics (Brazil, Argentina, etc.) and Colonies (French, British, Belgian, Portuguese, etc.) where coloured peoples are exploited. Average incomes are not shown where wide ranges would give unrepresentative figures. [\$2.80=£1.]

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YOUTH SHOWS ITS DESIRE FOR ACTION

Peaceworkers train where soldiers drilled

By W. R. HUGHES

Author of "Those Human Russians"

BORDERING the main road between the neighbouring towns of Bueckeburg and Minden in North Germany lies a piece of rising ground which has undergone a remarkable transformation during the last four years.

Before that it lay waste, pitted with trenches and rubbish-pits. It had been part of a military training-ground, and had not known the growing of corn.

Now one may see there a fine house, built largely by voluntary labour, surrounded by gardens with fruit trees and crops in full growth. You will see young men and women working, a constantly changing company, but always joking and cheerful.

They are some of those who have accepted the invitation to come, from many lands, to this new kind of "House of Friendship," in order to learn together how to become more efficient peace-makers.

From all nations

Already about two hundred of such volunteers, from seventeen different countries, have found their way there, including a number of British and even more Americans.

The invitation is given to men and women "from all nations, classes, races, religions and ideologies, pacifist or non-pacifist."

And who issues the invitation? No big organisation or imposing "world peace committee," but a little local group of Germans, who started the centre under a sense, which we all share but have not acted upon. That ordinary folk must work for peace in the name of our common humanity.

They do not set before us any one magical political programme, but ask for our help in studying all the difficult problems involved, and in learning how we may love one another better.

In the centre of this group is Wilhelm Mensching, Protestant pastor of two neighbouring villages, once missionary in Africa, interned by the British in India, influenced by Gandhi, Quakers and others to become a full pacifist, for many years secretary of the German section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and one who, during the days of Hitler, of war, and of the confusion that followed defeat in Germany, has boldly applied the principle of loving and serving "enemies" to one difficulty and danger after another.

At the Freundschaftsheim, to use its German name, one finds also Leslie Hayman, a Methodist minister from New Zealand, with his Polish-born wife, and Ralf Winkler, from Switzerland, known to many International Voluntary Service for Peace workers, who with his wife is now also on the staff.

In a few weeks will begin the building of a larger house for residents, the money for which has been collected by a very vigorous body of American supporters of the Heim.

Volunteers earn their keep

The basis of residence is that each volunteer earns his keep by taking part, usually for five hours a day, in the common work on land, house or buildings, and receives a monetary payment of a minimum of half a mark (or about tenpence) per day.

The qualifications for residence are, first, a willingness to join wholeheartedly in the simple style of living and work; and secondly, a really earnest desire to be a peace-maker and to study together with others from other lands all the problems involved. A resident takes part therefore in the lectures, studies and discussions at the Heim, as well as in its lively social life.

At present there are no regular terms, so that one may join at any time when there is a vacancy. A stay of at least two weeks is regarded as the minimum worth while.

Knowledge of German is not essential. Those who wish for fuller information should apply to the writer, who is secretary of the supporting British committee, 35, Doultling, Shepton Mallet, Somerset, or Bueckeburg, Germany.

Methodist Youth Clubs debate 'Christians & War'

"NO NEED FOR VIOLENCE"

By Bryan Harnwell

The writer recently appeared before the London Tribunal and was registered as a Conscientious Objector to National Service

"CHRISTIANS and War" was the theme of the debate at the seventh National Congress of the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs in the Kingsway Hall, London, on May 17. The Hall was packed with young people representing hundreds of clubs from all over the country.

In his recent Club Leaders' letter, *The Rev. Leonard P. Barnett*, Secretary of the MAYC, said: "When this topic gets known there's no doubt but that very many people both within and far beyond Methodism, are going to be mightily interested. For a national assembly of youth to be debating the peace and war issue in a Christian context is a bold thing to do."

Each Club had been sent a set of questions on the subject to discuss and thrash out among its own members, who could then elect a representative to speak at Congress.

When the President asked members to come forward to express their views the response was overwhelming to say the least; the outcome of which was that, apart from the first three speakers, representatives were allowed only one minute each to express their points of view.

Support for soldier and CO

In opening the debate, the MAYC's retiring President, *Mr. Leslie W. Bower*, said he wanted to emphasise that the ruling body of the Methodist Church, the Methodist Conference, recognised both of the opposing points of view on this all important subject, and gave the assurance that on whichever side the young people took their stand, they could count on the full backing of the Methodist Church.

Marion Frost, of St. George's Hall MAYC club, Stepney, from which the suggestion of the Congress topic was made, spoke next. She said that at their discussions no satisfactory answer had been reached by their own club and quite frankly they were puzzled as to the answer—they had felt it ought to be discussed openly at Congress.

Reg. Hancock, from Scotland, then stated his case for Christian Pacifism.

He said we too often fail to recognise that "loving our neighbour" means a bit more than the "loving the man next door" interpretation we tend to give it—our love must reach out to men of all nations. Our first loyalty is to God and taking part in war means fighting against Christ. He said in following Christ we must do all we can to be like Him—following His example of love—remembering He died on the Cross because of that love. "Some may say that love such as that can only come from God," he continued, "but we, in Him, are able to show love to all men—we can rise even to perfection with the help of the Holy Spirit."

"Difficulties are bound to arise, but I am convinced they can be settled round the table—there is no need for violence, and nothing will ever be gained if each side is intent on getting its own way. Our aim must be submission to the Prince of Peace—settling our differences in love—even as He loved us."

Next came non-pacifist, *Geoff Lambourne*, of Reading, whose hypothetical argument—had we not been prepared to defend our Country in the vital years of 1941-2, would the Kingsway Hall have been filled with Hitler Youth or young Communists instead of MAYC—seemed somewhat more worn than usual.

"Fighting for Christ"

He finished by saying we were not only fighting for our King and Country in the last war, but for the King of Kings and the Brotherhood of Jesus Christ.

This seemed in complete contrast to the enthusiastic singing of John Oxenham's lovely hymn, "In Christ there is no East or West," which preceded the debate, and from which it appeared that "one great fellowship of love throughout the whole wide earth" was not merely a desirable comforting religious thought to many of the young people present, but rather a challenging call for action.

Many in the queue of speakers had to be turned away due to lack of time, but a number of good points were put over.

Gordon Morris said: "I am a Christian Pacifist and an ex-Serviceman, I cannot appreciate why Christians regard pacifism as any more illogical in the material sense than any other basic Christian belief—after all, Christianity is primarily a matter of faith."

A representative from Long Eaton said "supporting the United Nations means approving the use of the A-bomb and other equally horrifying weapons, surely that will make us think carefully."

Kenneth Morley, of Basingstoke, said he thought the Methodist Youth Department leaflet "National Service—Thinking Ahead" was vague and contradictory: in one place it states "war is contrary to the spiritual

teaching and purpose of Christ" and then states it might be regarded as right in some circumstances. "What I want to know," he said, "is who is going to decide the circumstances?"

Another representative, amid laughter, said that the discipline of National Service does you good—it would be a good thing if girls had to do it, too.

Maureen Lewis said modern civilisation is worse than the jungle—there they throw coco-nuts, but our mentality is such that we chose A-bombs.

Geoffrey Watson, a pacifist, said "Force of arms never gets to the root of the evil, only Christian love can do that."

Be prepared to disarm

"Disarmament would teach the world a moral lesson—although Britain would probably suffer for it. As Christians we must be prepared to disarm—remembering Christ's earthly life ended with a Cross."

In summing up, the new MAYC President, *the Rev. Reg. C. Bedford*, said: "I want to congratulate you all on the part you have taken in this debate; quite obviously behind the points of view expressed lies any amount of thought and preparation, despite the fact that the opinions expressed have followed the well-worn path."

"Here, as in all else, a personal decision is called for—we must make up our minds what we can or cannot do."

"The superficial Christian's day is over. There are practical things we can do—as we have started to do with this great problem. We must think clearly and bother to study, read and discuss, prayerfully endeavouring to find the mind of Christ."

"The ray of hope lies in the Church of Jesus Christ, and we must render our wholehearted support to this living Body of Christ, against which even the gates of hell shall not prevail."

In speaking with several MAYC members afterwards and asking their opinion of the Congress topic, all agreed that their club was glad the decision was made "to thrash out this burning question in the open."

Another member from Leeds said: "You

A better hope . . .

WHEN the soldier fights nobody can assure him that by fighting he or his family will be made secure. The soldier may be killed. His home may be destroyed by a bomb. You, who do not fight, are also unable to guarantee security for anyone. If you are asked at a tribunal about such things it may be well to remember this. Don't be misled by the type of pacifist propaganda which implies that pacifism is a "safe" course. It has, it is true, been known to work miracles, but it has its martyrs, just as war has its casualties. If you do not deceive yourself on this point you will not be likely to make foolish statements which you cannot substantiate when you face a tribunal.

We (Quakers) believe in our *Peace Testimony*, not because it is "safe" but because we hold it to be right. We recognise its risks just as we recognise the risks of fighting. But we can no more be deterred by those risks than the honest fighting man will be deterred by the same risks, from doing what he believes to be his duty. Each way is an adventure of faith.

But . . . the soldier may win this war and still fail miserably in achieving the objects for which he fought. We have a better hope of good results—our victories cannot be turned into moral defeats.

—From "Opportunity at Eighteen," by Reginald Reynolds, Friends Peace Committee, 4d.

can think a lot about a subject and still miss a lot of the main issues—it has been a great help this afternoon to those who have already thought through the subject—and no doubt still more help to those who haven't faced it squarely before."

Another group of club members said, "we like to think of the Methodist Church as progressive and we believe the fact that its youth have been given this opportunity at Congress shows we are moving in the right direction."

In viewing the debate as a whole, one of the impressive factors was the high proportion of pacifist speakers—and what's more, their obvious enthusiasm. Here was an incalculable potential force for peace and one could not help but wonder through what channels it would find expression.

Methodist Youth has shown its desire for action—I trust that the Methodist Peace Fellowship and other similar organisations will provide ample opportunity for its encouragement.

"Cut Arms" — Labour Youth

A cut in expenditure on rearmament is urged in a resolution adopted recently by the Merseyside Federation of the Labour Party League of Youth. The resolution declares that the present level of rearmament constitutes an economic threat.

An amendment, which stated that the rearmament drive could only lead to war, and urged the Government to abandon rearmament altogether, was defeated by a narrow margin.

RAF VOLUNTEER RESIGNED

Registered as conscientious objector

By MARY WILLIS

A YOUNG man who volunteered for air-crew duties in the RAF in 1951, and, horrified by the implications of the training, applied for his discharge a year later, appeared before the Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors at Fulham last Friday.

He was *Derek John Willey*, of Naseby Road, Ilford. "During my training in the RAF I was made more and more conscious of the aim to kill the enemy as quickly and efficiently as possible," he said.

"Whereas I joined with the thought to defend my country, or a worthy cause, my faith has brought me round to an objection to killing and military warfare."

Derek Willey, who told the Tribunal that he belonged to the Baptist Church, produced a letter from his minister, the Rev. Messenger, who said that although he did not agree with him, he could bear testimony to the sincerity of his convictions.

He was directed to land, hospital, forestry or building work.

Violence or Service?

Henry Rose, of Warwick Grove, London, E.5, who is still at school, made a considerable impression on the Tribunal by his serious-mindedness and the breadth of his reading.

A Jew by birth, he told the Tribunal that his principal religious teachers were Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi, but said that he had also been guided by the works of Tolstoy, Prof. Field, C. F. Andrews, Tom Paine, Herbert Spencer, George Fox, and the Bible writers.

He based his objection on the fact that all men are created by God, and are therefore, brothers, and said that violence was the antithesis of brotherly love and service.

Gandhi, he said, had proved that it was not impossible for a human being to live a Christ-like life, and he therefore believed that it was necessary for him to attempt to do likewise, if he desired to achieve even a

fraction of the spiritual purity to which these men attained.

Henry Rose hopes to study medicine as soon as he can earn sufficient money to start his course, and the Tribunal decided to register him as a CO on the usual conditions, with special emphasis on hospital work, as likely to be useful to him in his studies.

He said, however, that he was not willing to accept any condition of exemption, and intended to go to the Appellate Tribunal.

PPU Group Secretary exempted

John Millwood, Secretary of the recently-formed Chelsea group of the Peace Pledge Union, was among the young men who gained exemption from military service at the Tribunal on May 20.

In his statement, *John Millwood* quoted the Sermon on the Mount, and Christ's injunction to forgive unto seventy times seven. "Is violence a constructive, final answer to any problem?" he asked. "Is it any answer at all? Can I express my love to humanity by killing human beings?"

The Tribunal was obviously impressed by *John Millwood's* statement, and by his answers to questions, and the only fault they could find with him was the fact that, despite his job as a library assistant with Reynolds News, he had not read any books against pacifism from the Christian point of view, though he said that he had read books by Lenin, and other non-Christian writers which advocated violence in certain circumstances.

He was granted exemption on condition of doing land, forestry, hospital or building work.

George William Bligh, of Attleborough, Suffolk, a Methodist, who was granted exemption, said that he was a Sunday school teacher, and often thought, when he was telling the young people stories of Jesus Christ, what a great sin it was for men to teach them to kill when they reached the age of 18.

A Doctor at the Tribunal—p.6

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Up and Doing

THE PRESS

Newspapers in general are a cause of despair to pacifists. The high-lighting of baser happenings, one-sided reporting and shirking of the real issues seem to characterise the majority of them. A good leader, a report of a pacifist meeting, provokes that degree of rejoicing which we reserve for exceptional occasions.

Some papers are less to be reproached (modestly forbids naming the least reproachable!)—and though local papers are normally among the most prejudiced politically they excel in freedom of expression for their readers. Your most revolutionary letter is practically sure to find a place in Blythburgh Weekly Blast. We have splendid openings for pacifist opinion at this level.

But perhaps the most important job of all is to challenge the Editor personally. If he can be persuaded on an issue much good may result. An excellent example has just come to our notice.

The leader writer of an East Anglian evening paper was invited to read PN regularly. Shortly afterwards there appeared a full length leader column challenging Christians on the use of the napalm bomb which might well have been lifted straight from page two of PN.

A great many journalists are deeply concerned about the attitude of the popular press. You can help them by writing letters on which editorial comment can be made. And they may welcome Peace News every week, as a source of reliable news and humanitarian opinion.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week 12,000

Briefly . . .

An International Training School for world relief work and Work Camp leadership will be held at Orjansgarden (Sweden) from August 15 to September 14. The course will include both theoretical and practical training, each member doing 8 hours' manual work a day during the first fortnight, and 4½ hours during the second. The money thus earned will go towards the cost of the course, and the relief work which the organisation is carrying out in India, Greece, Palestine and Poland.

Applications, which should be sponsored by an organisation, should be sent as soon as possible to Orjansgarden (Agni), Rönninge, Sweden. The Peace Pledge Union will consider assisting applicants who find it difficult to pay the fare.

Among those present at the Moscow Economic Conference was Mrs. Tomiko Kora, the prominent Japanese pacifist, and a member of the Upper House of the Japanese Parliament.

The Japanese Government had refused to grant passports to anyone wishing to go to the conference, but Mrs. Kora made her way to Moscow without a passport, via Paris, Copenhagen and Helsinki.

R. H. Ward replies

IN reply to Lesley Lewis (PN last week), I said nothing, in my address to the AGM of the PPU, of the "love of violence" on the one hand, or of the need for "sweet reasonableness on the other." I simply affirmed that violence is inherent in our nature, and that it takes many forms other than that of the open warfare in which it periodically culminates.

I cannot therefore agree with Lesley Lewis that it is a fallacy to believe that wars are originally due to this inherent violence; nor can I fail to find his own argument fallacious, which seems to assert that acquisitiveness and the economic enslavement of others are causes of war in themselves, for they seem to me the effects of a deeper psychological cause.

It is always easier to discover, and to blame, external causes, rather than face the real, and ultimately personal, issue. But if the proper study of mankind (and of mankind's activities) is man, I respectfully suggest that the man most accessible to Mr. Lewis for study is Mr. Lewis.

In reply to Miss Lee, I did not say that to get rid of violence is "unnatural," nor did I say that it is "practically impossible." I said, on the contrary, that it was a matter of the proper evolution of the human being.

As to the "confusion between violence and conflict," this, I fear, can hardly be attributed to me; it has been a reality since Cain killed Abel, and is still a reality, I see, when Miss Lee puts pen to paper in the attempt to annihilate my opinions.

It is refreshing to find that the Rev. G. T. Peet is not only able to read, but even able to understand what he reads, and for his perceptiveness I am grateful. With reference to his last two paragraphs, I doubt if he really has any quarrel with me, for

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I certainly should not call an honest conscientious objection Pharisaism.

Mr. Poland gives me my answer "on a plate," as they say. He assumes "that we had left this personal and individual stuff behind years ago." Alas, I fear that is so, and that we were severely in error.

My whole contention is that the causes of war are themselves "personal and individual stuff."

Mr. Poland, too, should seek those causes where they are to be found, and where charity, as opposed to violence, is said to begin. He might then discover what my remarks had "to do with conscription of ignorant and innocent boys," etc.; for this social evil is precisely one of the effects of the refusal to face the causes of war at their "personal and individual" source.

What particularly interests me, however, in the letters of three out of four of your correspondents is their curious tendency to imply that I said what I did not say and did not say what I did. I suggest that the perversion of a person's words to one's own meaning, and the apparently deliberate misreading of words to suit one's own opinions, are in themselves forms of violence. I am sorry to see that these things are so prevalent among pacifists.

R. H. WARD.

Lydney, Glos.

Katyn Wood

THERE is all too much evidence in the Press and elsewhere to-day that there are people in the world who wish to have a war with the Soviet Union and are anxious to stir up as much anti-Russian feeling as possible in order to do this.

We consider that your comment on the Katyn Wood murders (PN, May 9), merely adds grist to the anti-Russian mill, by inferring, through second-hand reports—Mr. Epstein believes that Mr. Churchill believed

the Russians were responsible, etc. . . . that the Russians were actually responsible.

Whilst announcing that a US Commission of Enquiry has been set up the correspondent ignores the Report of the Russian Enquiry Commission, including amongst its signatories the Patriarch of Moscow, and Alexei Tolstoy. We cannot believe that your correspondent has not read this report, first published in 1944 in Smolensk and recently published in English, and urge you, now—that the matter has been brought up in this fashion, to give publicity to the Soviet Commission's report.

R. A. LEESON, F. FARRINGTON.
19, Rushford Avenue, Levenshulme,

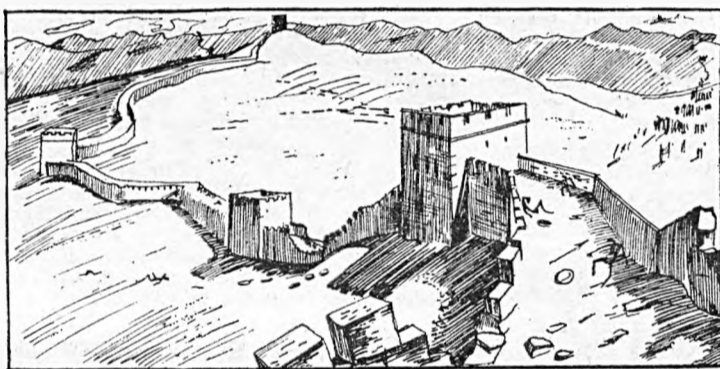
IT is more than hard to understand how it was possible at this date for such an error to creep into the columns of "Behind the News," with regard to the Katyn massacre. I refer to the words: "We do not know to-day which side was guilty of this monstrous crime."

It has been known for several years, beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Russians were the perpetrators of this terrible mass-murder. I would refer anyone still in doubt to Montgomery Beligian's "Victors' Justice," pp. 65-78 (published in 1949) where this incident is dealt with very carefully. But already in 1946 there was drawn up a truly masterly document, with full details, maps and photographs, and an exceptionally balanced and truly objective investigation into the question of who committed the crime; and here again the evidence points beyond the possibility of doubt to Russia. This highly important document is obtainable from the Polish Association of former Soviet Political Prisoners, 2, Albert Gate, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1.

SYLVIA LLOYD.

Rickview, Buckland Wharf, near Aylesbury.

VICTORIES WITHOUT VIOLENCE



About 200 BC the Hsiao-nan, barbarians who lived north of the Great Wall of China, broke their treaty with the Emperor Wen-ti. Here is part of a letter he wrote to their chief. "Let all peoples live in peace. Let parents and children never be divided. Let us try dismissing our troops, melting down our swords."



"I am having silk sent to your cold northern country, and cotton, rice and wheat. We are now friends. . . . Let us reflect that the sky covers us all equally."



"The earth makes no distinction in bearing us; we are all one family."
"Our wish is, that the world be at peace for ever"

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Sunday, June 1

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St.; Open-air Mtg. PPU.

Tuesday, June 3

LONDON, N.2: 8 p.m. 15 Lynmouth Road, Connie Jones. PPU.
PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Corn Exchange; Glenn Smiley (American For); "An American Talks Peace"; Chair: Rev. C. Ladlow; For.

Wednesday, June 4

BOW: 8 p.m. Children's Ho., Eagleing Road, E.3. PPU.
KENSINGTON: 8 p.m. 5 Horbury Crescent, off Kensington Park Road, Phyllis Vallance, "Literature and Peace." PPU.
LONDON, N.16: 7.30 p.m. 79 Lordship Park, Mtg. of Non-violence Commission, PPU.

Thursday, June 5

BATH: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Philip Sawyer, "West Africa." PPU.
IPSWICH: 7.30 p.m. Garrett Memorial Hall, Debate: John S. Hoyland, CFWG, and Hugh Sutherland, UNA. Chair: Canon R. H. Babinington. Crusade for World Govt.
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg: Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Woodgate Lane, Koinange, of Kenya, "Social Problems of Africa." Leeds Peace Council.
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Road, Miss Elwell. PPU.

Friday, June 6

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Intercession Service for Peace: The Rev. Francis Noble; APF. For PPU.
LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m. Kings Weigh Ho. Ch. London Union Annual Mtg. Max Parker. For.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Street, Albert Meltzer, "Anarcho-Syndicalism and War Resistance." Central London PPU.
NOTTINGHAM: 7 p.m. Adult Schoolroom. Glenn Smiley (American For). Also Bring and Buy sale. For.

WATTON: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall. The Rev. Clifford Macquire, "The Need of our Time." Chair: Rev. Canon F. Warren Davies. For.

Saturday, June 7

CALLINGTON: 3 p.m. The Methodist Church, E. Cornwall Area rededication service and conf. For.

Sunday, June 8

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St.; Open-air Mtg. PPU.

Tuesday, June 10

BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho. Holloway Head, Gladys Jeffery B.Sc., "Problems of South Africa." PPU.

Wednesday, June 11

EDMONTON: 8 p.m. Edmonton Independent Church Parlour, Knights Lane, N.3. Bernard Withers, "The Work of the CBCO, 1951-52." PPU.
GAINSBOROUGH: Hugh Faulkner Details from Barbara Dickinson, 113 Sandfield Lane, Gainsborough. For.

Thursday, June 12

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Ho. Bush Road, Bob Beadle, "Egypt." PPU.
LINCOLN: 7.30 p.m. Greenstone Lodge, Lindum Road, Hugh Faulkner. For.
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg: Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Saturday, June 14

YORK: 3 p.m. Co-op Buildings, Railway Street (top floor). Area Mtg. Pooled tea. PPU.

Sunday, June 15

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St.; Open-air Mtg. PPU.

Tuesday, June 17

LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m. Hope House, Gt. Peter Street, Westminster. Ernest Fernyhough, MP, "World Problems and Peace." Chair: Ron Huzard. LPF.

Thursday, June 19

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Ho. Bush Road, Miss Pracey, "Pacifists Must Fight." PPU.
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg: Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

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DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.
Terms. 15s. per single column inch

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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ATTENTION PACIFISTS. Perfect holidays near Dublin. Excellent food. Sea, mountain air. May and Sept. £3 10s. weekly. Box 416.

A GOOD HOLIDAY: Peace News reader has pleasure in recommending Austrian family, B and B and bath, (continental breakfast), low price of 28 Austrian schillings a night. Write Frau Dunser, Innsbruck Lutterottstrasse 4, Austria.

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE. vegetarian and diet reform. Others welcomed. Sea front, small village. Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent. Tel. Dym church 265.

A COUNTRY HOLIDAY? Write Fred and Alice House, Huish Champflower, Wiveliscombe, Somerset.

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EARLY HOLIDAYS in Sunny Cornwall. Atlantic Guest House, Bude. On sea front amidst lovely country. Vegetarians and others welcomed. Proprietors Joan and Herbert Lomax.

HEREFORDSHIRE VILLAGE orchard. Comfortable 4 berth caravan. June, July, £4 weekly. Wicksteed, Ullingswick.

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ROMANY CARAVAN: June-Aug. 30s. p.w.; Kent country, easy reach London. Gas cooking. Suit married couple, or family with extra tents. Forder, 92 Coburn Road, Bow, E.3.

YUGOSLAV HOLIDAYS. Depart every Saturday. Holiday Friendship Service, 445 Strand, Send S.A.E.

THE VEGETARIAN catering association, 43 Lancaster Grove, N.W.3, will be glad to send revised list of member establishments in Great Britain on receipt 4d.

WANTED ACCOMMODATION for Indian student. Preferably with family, or furnished room, use of kitchen. Within half hour journey Holborn Station. Write to Donald Bettis, 29 The Crescent, Loughton, Essex.

PERSONAL

INTRODUCTIONS. PEN friends, companionship or marriage. V.C.C., 34 Honeywell Road, London, S.W.11.

LITERATURE, &c.

HOSTILITIES. EFFECTIVE peace poem, 3d. Card covers 5d. Fantasma, publishers, 11 North Avenue, Worthing.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

VEGETARIAN WANTS job on the land from June to October. Handy and adaptable. Home counties. Box 419.

SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a Local Office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled Employment Agency IF the applicant is a man aged 18-64 inclusive or a woman aged 18-59 inclusive, UNLESS he or she or the employment is excepted from the provisions of Vacancies Order 1952.

THE C.B.C.O. needs a full time short-hand typist. Apply to the Secretary, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day-time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers, Finsbury Park, N.4.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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ECONOMY LABELS. Save expense and envelopes, help to publicise Peace News, by using PN Economy Labels. Large size, attractively printed, 1s. for 50, 1s. 9d. 100, 17s. 6d. 1,000, post free. Plain 1s. 6d. 100, 13s. 6d. 1,000, post free. Peace News Publications Dept. 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

MISCELLANEOUS

WORLD LEAGUE against Vivisection opposes all cruelties in food, dress, amusements and medicine. Copy of "The Animals' Champion," free on request, 42 Aberdeen Rd, London, N.5.

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"Pacifism and Conscientious Objection"—the case against it, by Prof. G. C. Field 5s
"Opportunity at Eighteen," by Reginald Reynolds 4d
Postage 13d under 6d, 2d over 6d
Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

Rearmament: a suicidal policy CAN ONLY END IN BANKRUPTCY AND WAR

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

if we don't get smashed up in another war.

But what market will there be for Vampire wings a few years hence? In this way the skill of our engineers and skilled workers will be diverted away from industry which would have helped to raise the standard of life and brought sanitation and civilisation to innumerable remote corners of the world.

But we are placing rearmament first.

Kilbride loses a factory

A few days later I read in the Glasgow Herald that an American firm which had planned to build a big agricultural machinery plant in one of Scotland's new towns, East Kilbride, had abandoned this project.

"The decision," we are told, "came as a shock to the Board of Trade, the East Kilbride Development Corporation, and the Scottish Council for Development and Industry. The disappointment was felt most keenly by the Council, who were responsible for bringing the project to Scotland.

This factory was to have employed several thousand men and women.

Needed for food supplies

Now this would have been a godsend to the West of Scotland.

Agricultural machinery is badly needed all over the world. A great export trade would have been built up and the machinery would have been used to increase the food supplies of the world and do away with much of the dreary drudgery of farming folk everywhere.

But this American firm realised that with Britain concentrating on a rearmament drive there would be a shortage of skilled labour and materials.

Then there was steel. We read:

"But for the hold up in steel supplies which stopped work on the factory some months ago and caused the firms to begin withdrawing skilled labour and equipment, it is believed that the project would have gone on. The ultimate release of the necessary steel is thought to have come too late to cause a further change in the company's plans."

No passport for peace preacher

A US passport has been denied to Dr. J. Carpenter, prominent New York churchman and treasurer of the US Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, who wished to travel to Japan for an extensive series of meetings with Church leaders. He is an old friend of the Japanese Christian leader, Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa.

The disclosure of the State Department's ruling came last week in a sermon by another New York minister, Dr. John Paul Jones.

He attacked what he described as the growing tendency to restrict the freedom of "distinguished citizens," without apparent reason.

"Our own city now has a perfect illustration of this, which is alarming in its implications."

Wanted US-Soviet negotiations

Dr. Carpenter would not comment on the State Department's action, which, says the New York Times, has "puzzled his friends and associates inasmuch as the clergyman to their knowledge has never been connected with any subversive organisations."

The same newspaper recalls that "three years ago Dr. Carpenter, along with eleven other clergymen, sent a message to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, urging 'high level negotiations' between the US and the Soviet Union to 'resolve the difference between the two nations.'"

TRUTH ABOUT GARLIC

Truth is many sided, as readers of this journal know; but notwithstanding sensational new drug discoveries, the truth about Garlic remains unchallenged as it has stood for 5,000 years. Send stamps 10d. for two booklets of life-conserving information about Garlic — that priceless purifier and healer given by nature for the use of Man.

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Steel is needed for rearmament. We have not enough steel for agricultural machinery and war equipment at the same time. So the tractors and the combines will have to wait and a splendid chance has been lost to establish a great new industry whose products could have a regular world market for the next fifty years.

Instead of that our engineers go over to arms work and this work either ends in war or unemployment.

In many parts of Britain the same thing is going on. By switching over to rearmament we are losing splendid opportunities of establishing new permanent industries badly needed if we are going to maintain our export trade and solve our economic problem.

From every point of view rearmament is a stupid, suicidal policy which if it is continued can only end in national bankruptcy and war.

(WORLD TRADE AND PEACE—p3)

DOCTORS DISCUSS

International medical services

This is the third instalment of our report on the Conference of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, held in London on May 10 and 11.

The report will be concluded next week with an account of the discussion on "The Psychology of War Preparations."

DR. ELIZABETH TOPLEY, who opened the session on International Medical Services, said that the aim of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War was to improve international understanding by offering their services to all, irrespective of nationality, and to bring home to men the fact that war was not inevitable.

She spoke at length of the work already being done by the World Health Organisation, the Red Cross Societies and other bodies in the way of information services, conferences, fellowships, field services, international controls and inspection.

The weakness of the World Health Organisation, she said, lay in the fact that it existed for member countries only—and Russia was not a member—and that it could

operate only through governmental channels. It had done much in the way of control of drugs, but she had not heard that it had done anything in the way of controlling the mass destruction of people in warfare.

New fields for activity

Speaking of the work that she felt the MAPW might undertake she mentioned information services; the entertainment of medical men from other countries; the promotion of field services where needed, as possibly plastic surgery for burns in Korea.

She also suggested the formation of a team of inspection which might be acceptable by both East and West, since neither the United Nations nor the International Red Cross were regarded as impartial by the East; and the creation of an International Medical Corps; an idea first suggested in the Lancet in the 1930s.

Gerald Gardner gave the Conference a brief account of the work of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, in training for which conscientious objectors undertook first a driver-mechanic's course, and secondly six months in a hospital ward.

Their members had carried out emergency relief work in the Middle East, the Balkans, India, China, and other countries.

Being free from governmental control their services were everywhere welcomed and they could move more speedily than official organisations. He himself had been successful in obtaining badly needed additional medical services for Belsen immediately after it had been taken over by the Allies.

Left untended

Dr. Lake spoke of the Church's missionary societies' medical services in India where the average age of death is 26, as opposed to about 66 in this country. The diseases of tropical countries were for the most part preventable and curable.

Why, he asked, did so many doctors prefer to remain in this country and study little-known diseases, when the diseases which were understood, and could be prevented, were left untended elsewhere.

This point was also taken up by Dr. Chappel, who said that doctors should go to those parts where there was most suffering: at present that was North Korea and China. They should also make it known in official quarters that they considered 100 days of negotiation were worth a single day of warfare.

BRIGHTON'S BEST

THE Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, Sybil Morrison, addressed a meeting on the sea-front at Brighton last Sunday, which had been organised by Brighton Group of the PPU.

A very large and attentive crowd gathered to hear her, and local opinion has it that it was the largest demonstration of its kind which the town has seen for many years.

A number of new contacts were made, and it is hoped that support will be forthcoming for future meetings of a similar kind.

Open-air meetings in Cardiff

PPU members in Cardiff sell between two and three dozen copies of Peace News in the street every Saturday afternoon. They also sell the paper at all likely public meetings, and are considering holding their own open-air meetings on Sunday evening in Llandaff Fields.

Cardiff PPU members are associated with members of the For and Society of Friends in a joint peace group which has held regular monthly meetings for the past year.

HALF A LOAF

The danger from Bevan's "small arms"

Surely a reduction in armaments as proposed by Aneurin Bevan is a first step towards total disarmament which is what all pacifists want to see. Would you not agree that half a loaf is better than no bread?

—Letter from PPU member, May 15, 1952

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.

—The Sermon on the Mount

IT is perhaps natural to believe that when once a reduction in armaments, instead of an increase, has been decided upon, the whole process will have been put into reverse and lead automatically to there being no armaments at all.

But this is, in fact, a quite illogical conclusion, for the possession of armaments, whether they be guns or germs, men or machines, bombs or bayonets, implies the possibility of their use either in war, or as a threat which ultimately leads to war.

There was a considerable reduction of

armaments after the first world war for economic reasons, in the same way as there was reduced expenditure upon armaments after the second world war. But this has not led, nor can it lead to any total abolition, simply because such a decision rests upon policy decisions, not upon automatic reversal of a process.

It is obviously fallacious to argue that reduction if pursued can end in abolition. A reduction of taxes does not imply abolition of all taxes as its ultimate conclusion; a reduction in the cost of living does not lead to no cost of living at all; nor would any agreement on reduction necessarily mean a lessening of the tensions which may lead to war, for it could just as easily mean more money spent upon atom, napalm or hydrogen bombs and less on armies and navies.

*

Aneurin Bevan's proposals were based upon a perfectly valid argument that this country could neither afford, nor produce the materials for which £4,700,000,000 had been allocated, and it has turned out that he was right; therefore his lesser figure has, perforce, been accepted and approved by the present Government.

It is a mistake to argue that because Mr. Bevan wants to spend more on Social Services and less on armaments, that he either believes this would lead to total disarmament, or wants to see total disarmament.

That he is convinced that Russia has no militarily aggressive intention may perhaps help to allay the kind of hysterical panic about the Soviet Union which is being fostered by the Press, but the fact remains that his policy is not even a half-answer to the present problem of peace or war. In fact it is no answer at all, since so long as there are in existence armaments of any kind, so there will also be in existence the possibility of war.

*

To choose a half-measure of evil is to refuse to recognise the poison for what it is; it is in fact to hope for the best while preparing in advance for failure. The attempt by the League of Nations to have collective armaments rather than national armaments was one of those half measures doomed at the outset to failure, simply because the causes of international conflicts were never faced, and the reliance upon armaments in the last resort was the creed to which all the nations pinned their faith, and unfortunately, in spite of failure, have gone on doing so.

Armaments, whether they be many of few, immense or meagre, belong to war; the "loaf" of armaments is a poisoned loaf, and half a one, therefore, can be as deadly as a whole. In fact good is not served by the choice of even a fraction of evil. Armaments and war go together; they must be abolished.

PLAIN WORDS ON WAR

by Sybil Morrison

A selection from the PPU Chairman's weekly column in Peace News

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